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# CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

# EFFECTS

OF

# PROTECTING DUTIES.

[ PRICE ONE BRITISH SHILLING. ]

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IN A LETTER TO A NEWLY-ELECTED MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT.

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# CONSIDERATIONS

## ON THE EFFECTS OF

# PROTECTING DUTIES,

## IN A LETTER TO A NEWLY-ELECTED MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT,

SIR,

YOU are now arrived at that period of your life, and at that ſtation among your countrymen, in which the determinations of your mind, and the conduct which thoſe determinations will lead you to adopt, muſt neceſſarily become of importance to thoſe around you. I have been ſufficiently acquainted with the courſe of your ſtudy, to know that you are not deficient in capacity, and that the mode of your education has in ſome degree, ſettled you into habits of diligence. My apprehenſions for you are not built upon theſe foundations; they ariſe from my knowledge of the nature of that ſtock of ideas which you have acquired, and of the particular turn of thinking in which you have been trained. My fears are, that all which you have hitherto acquired, altho' it may, and in truth I believe will, prove of ſome ornament to you as a Gentleman, can have but ſmall force in forwarding you as a man of buſineſs.

The hiſtorians of Rome have not handed down to us any conſiderable details of the commercial ſyſtems of the old world; nor does the reaſoning of Demoſthenes apply itſelf much to the *policy* of *trading nations*. Yet it is ſomething to have been in the habit of acquiring. A mind accuſtomed in this manner to furniſh itſelf with the ideas of other men, will more readily gain upon any ſubject however novel it may be, than one which has to acquire its materials for thought and its habits of thinking together.

Of all the knowledge which you can poſſeſs, the knowledge of commerce in its general principles and in its detail of facts, will prove of moſt honour to yourſelf, and of moſt profit to your country. The time at which this knowledge muſt prove moſt ſingularly beneficial, will be during the preſent ſeſſion of parliament. And during the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, no queſtion of commerce can ariſe which will involve ſo much of the riſing proſperity of the kingdom, as that which will come in the firſt inſtance before you for determination——*the queſtion of protecting duties*. In the deciſion of this queſtion will be laid the foundation of the commercial ſyſtem of Ireland. You perceive then how you are preſſed, ſcarcely any thing as yet known, and almoſt every thing to be inſtantly decided; this at once then ſhews you my inducement, and conſtitutes my apology.

The ſpirit of the Iriſh nation has been already tried; its wiſdom muſt ſhortly be diſcovered. To pant after the poſſeſſion of liberty, is the effect of an univerſal feeling in human nature; it has fallen to the lot of few to enjoy it—but it has fallen to the lot of fewer ſtill to enjoy it to its true purpoſes; to render that activity which it inſpires ſubſervient

to

to the ſatisfaction of life, to the augmentation of its enjoyments, and to the mitigation of its ſufferings. The moment of the acquiſition of liberty, is a moment of danger to any country. The people from that period will be active: but the activity of unſkilfulneſs may impoveriſh and diſgrace a nation as well as an individual.

IGNORANCE may preſerve liberty———but it will be liberty in tatters: knowledge only can preſerve and enjoy her in the complications and refinements of civil ſociety. For three millions of people to eſtabliſh their freedom, it is only neceſſary that they ſhould unite in a determination to be free. The dulleſt head in ſociety may contrive, and the weakeſt hand aſſiſt the execution of ſuch a purpoſe. To overpower an union of this nature would never pay for the exertion which it would require. But after the object of that union has been attained, a nation will require every aſſiſtance that natural ſagacity and acquired information can afford. In proportion as a national ſpirit has been rouſed, it becomes neceſſary for caution to ſtep in to regulate its progreſs.

To acquire the power of being happy, and to apply that power to its object, demand very different modifications of the paſſions, and very different exertions of the underſtanding. Common place hiſtory affords us examples, and common experience confirms the truth of them, that to obtain a victory, and to enjoy the *profits* of that victory, are too often ſeparated.

WE have conquered. Let us now endeavour to be happy. To be happy as a nation, I mean to be induſtrious and to be rich. I am not for the Spartan profits of victory. Iron money, and black

bread, could afford but ſmall inducements to an Iriſhman, who, in the moſt deplorable moments of the depreſſion and poverty of his country, has contrived to keep a part of its beef for his own conſumption, and to exchange another part of it with his neighbour for claret.

THE inſtitutions of commerce are of all others, the moſt pernicious, or the moſt beneficial; their effects are always more extenſive, they penetrate farther into the general buſineſs of life, and mingle themſelves more completely in the general maſs of our tranſactions, than any other branches of political œconomy. Other inſtitutions are leſs frequently called forth into action. The rules of landed property, for inſtance, cannot operate ſo extenſively. It is not every hour that land changes its maſter. Every man in the community is not a land owner; but every man in the community eats, drinks, and wears cloaths; and is hourly engaged in the increaſe, conſumption, or exchange of thoſe neceſſaries of his life. In proportion as commercial inſtitutions extend in their effects, theſe effects become more minute and numerous. To aſcertain therefore and arrange them, to trace them through their different ſtages up to their true cauſes, mixed and perverted as they are by the ingenuity of pride and avarice, require a greater ſhare of patience, and of ſkill in the ordinary courſes of buſineſs, than can fall to the ſhare of many.

To diſcriminate and to arrange, require in ſome degree a ſcientific education. To collect commercial materials for ſuch purpoſes, requires long attention and a cloſe inſight into various branches of buſineſs. To be a man of ſcience, and at the ſame time a man of buſineſs, requires a rare combination of endowments. The ſtudent ſeldom

treats

treats the workſhop with any civility. Experience, that ſafeſt guide in moſt other reſearches, tho' it may be of ſome uſe, yet certainly cannot afford us a view ſufficiently entenſive in this enquiry. This is a ſubject on which experiment cannot well be hazarded: the expences to ſociety are too great, the conſequences not ſucceeding, too fatal. Beſides that the length of a life will hardly afford time to draw a concluſion: we are born too late to ſee the beginning, and we die too ſoon to ſee the end of many things. Cautious as we ought to be, we muſt however truſt ſomething to information. We cannot collect all ourſelves, we muſt therefore be content at ſome time to make uſe of the labours of others.

It is a circumſtance to be lamented, that in our own country, the place where we could be beſt enabled to extend our enquiries, and to aſcertain every circumſtance with the higheſt degree of preciſion, ſcarcely any ſuch materials as we now want are to be found. The hiſtory of Tom Thumb and the hiſtory of Iriſh Commerce, could be afforded by the bookſeller at nearly the ſame price. In every period of the hiſtory of our country, we are preſented with misfortunes enough to have afforded us knowledge. But one peculiarity of our ſituation has been, that we have ſuſtained the weight of miſery, without the benefit of that experience and caution which generally ariſe from diſtreſs. We have frequently received the ſtroke of poverty, but have not yet learned how to ward the blow. This is owing to our having been paſſive on the ſtage of Europe.

Ireland has been a ſufferer, but not an actor. Our misfortunes have not ariſen from the errors of our *own* activity. The mother-country, as ſhe has

has proudly termed herſelf, and our ſiſter kingdom as we now affect to ſtile her, took upon herſelf the active part as a kingdom. She never gave us any thing to do, but always ſomething to bear———to ſhare her misfortunes whenever ſhe was miſtaken; but to be a ſpectator only, not a ſharer of her advantages when ſhe proved ſucceſsful. Like the ſlaves in a Roman family, who were doomed to the general proſcription, when the enemies of their maſter's faction were triumphant, tho' they had received little but whips and hard labour in the days of his proſperity.

The principal advantages ariſing from activity and acting for ourſelves, either as nations or individuals, are derived from the habits of buſineſs in which particular men are trained, from the knowledge of facts which they acquire, and from the details which they can aſcertain in all the different parts of public or private intercourſe. When theſe are fully known, their true forms as they ſtand by themſelves, and their connecting parts as they ſtand related to each other, thoroughly inveſtigated, and familiarly imprinted on the mind, ſyſtems of intercourſe become readily formed, and the moſt ignorant can take advantage of the labours of the moſt ſkilful in ſociety. But ſuch advantages our ſituation unhappily precluded us from.

To debaſe us ſtill more, the errors of government were ſo palpable, the impreſſions of thoſe errors were ſo ſevere, that to *feel* was to *know*—— inference or deduction became uſeleſs, and being uſeleſs were not cultivated. Hence our men, ſuppoſed to be, and ſuppoſing themſelves to be men of buſineſs, have ſtudied modes of clamorous invective, rather than of ſerious inveſtigation; and

particular

particular abuſe has ſupplied the place of general reaſoning. To ſuch a ſtate of ſubſtantial and intellectual poverty has the domination of England reduced us. When I ſpeak in ſuch terms of what has paſt, I do not mean to open again the ſources of diſcontent, or to blame thoſe tranſactions as having exhibited on the part of England any peculiar marks of political depravity. They aroſe from a *falſe ſyſtem of commerce*, from the ruinous ſpirit of MONOPOLY.

If then we have ſuffered ſo long and ſo ſeverely by this ſpirit of our ſiſter kingdom, ſhall we as the firſt act of our own free-will, adopt and enforce the ſame ſyſtem ourſelves? Shall we prove to England that we are Engliſhmen in every hing but their power, their induſtry, and their wealth?

You will perhaps reply to what I have ſaid, of the little information which can be obtained in the tranſactions of our country, or from the knowledge of our countrymen, that although the tranſactions of our country are as barren of materials as I have aſſerted them to be, yet, that our men of buſineſs can hardly warrant the obſervation which has been made on them. You will perhaps urge againſt me the examples of our orators and our patriots. Believe me when I tell you, that you muſt not look for examples of uſeful knowledge, or of true virtue among them. We have had men, whoſe formation has rendered it doubtful whether nature was a prodigal or a miſer ———ſo laviſh has ſhe been to them in the powers of the underſtanding, and ſo niggardly in the virtues of the heart. We have ſeen ſuch men devote their youth, the graceful and I believe the honeſt part of life, to the indulgence of the moſt ſhameful and pernicious appetites. When the

body

body has ſunk under this torrent of animal gratification, the atrocious vigour of their genius has exerted itſelf, without diſtraction or interruption. An unmixed ſeverity of ſtudy has ſucceeded to an unreſtrained licentiouſneſs of enjoyment. Gloomy and diſtruſtful even in the very lap of pleaſure, it could not be expected that they ſhould have warmed into chearfulneſs, or relaxed into ſociability by the intenſeneſs of application. From this retirement they have come forth adorned but not amiable, wiſe but not uſeful. The application of our acquiſitions determines the motive of acquiring. Their induſtry has been pointed only to diſplay the miſeries of their country, but never to explain or enforce the methods of removing them. They have bent the powers of their imagination to the miſerable employment of inventing combinations of reproachful and abuſive terms againſt their antagoniſts, until our language has ſunk under their exertions. They ſeem to have ranged the paths of ſcience, and collected its materials together for no other purpoſe than to gild the bitterneſs of perſonal invective, with theſe ſplendid productions of their labours. Clamorous tribunes of the people, when the people were without hope, raiſing a futile oppoſition and pointing their exertions to little objects, becauſe thoſe objects were the favourites of government; but ſhrinking into and continuing the trickling adulators of a paltry court, when a lucky juncture of circumſtances opened a way to the courſe of the ſolid proſperity of their countrymen. After this when they have ſickened at the applauſes which followed ſome daring attempts in favour of liberty, we have ſeen them reſign the profits of venality, to the hopes of regaining their loſt character: and we have ſeen that contented cuckold—the people, with open arms

arms again receive them, tho' reeking from the very bed of proſtitution.*

THIS is the general deſcription of modern patriotiſm, and modern patriotiſm is to our political, what a modern diſeaſe is to our animal conſtitution. They are equally the children of licentiouſneſs: they equally faſten upon the ſources of exiſtence in their unhappy ſubjects: equally manifeſt their vigour by their venom; and nothing but the application of a metallic poiſon can ſtop the progreſs of either. Gold is to the political what mercury is to the animal infection. The miniſter and the phyſician who apply them, are equally juſtified by dreadful neceſſity. They do, it is true, ſtop the killing progreſs of the diſtemper; but the ſtrength of the patients waſte, and their beauties fade, under the malignant qualities of thoſe medicines which can only prolong exiſtence. From a connection with ſuch men you cannot hope for advantage. It would be dangerous to follow, and they will not ſuffer you to lead them.

HAVING given you theſe general cautions leſt you ſhould be miſled by the noiſe of party, or the glitter of individuals, or leſt you ſhould waſte your time in ſeeking for information where it is not to be found, I ſhall now proceed to lay before you ſome matters which I know you are candid and honeſt enough to wiſh for. To this end I ſhall require from you a little more ſobriety of attention than I believe you have found it neceſſary yet to beſtow.

THE

* Yet the people of Ireland have been told, that "the "affections of a politician are always matter of ſpecula- "tion. His *ſudden reverſes* of affection are ſtill more "ſuſpicious."

Sindercombe's letter in Lord Townſhend's time.

THE demand which I apprehend will be made from the wiſdom of parliament, by ſome of thoſe gentlemen whoſe opinions coincide with the preſent diſpoſitions of the people is, that certain duties ſhall be laid on the importation from Great Britain, of all goods of the various branches of the woollen and cotton manufactures, ſo as to prevent in the home market a poſſibility of competition between theſe foreign fabrics and articles of the like nature, the produce of our own labour. Theſe duties ſo intended to be demanded, are now called by the popular name of *protecting duties*. The policy of this ſyſtem of protecting duties, I underſtand to be by preſerving the home market without any competition, to give to our own manufactures ſuch an extenſion of demand, and ſuch a certainty of profit as may enable us, by increaſing the ſkill of our manufacturers, and our capital employed in thoſe particular branches of buſineſs, to vie hereafter in foreign markets with foreign artiſts.

THIS I apprehend to be a plain and full ſtate of the queſtion——of the means, and of the end propoſed to be attained by thoſe means. From this ſtate I apprehend it appears, that they who inſiſt upon the meaſure of protecting duties, as an inſtrument neceſſary to the commercial proſperity of this country, muſt admit that we are underſold by foreign manufacturers in our own markets. It is not material to the preſent buſineſs from what circumſtances this cheapneſs of the articles ariſes, if the fact be ſo. I ſcarcely think it neceſſary to anſwer the idle reproach thrown out againſt the people of this country, of a partial fondneſs for the productions of other countries, when they can get their own as good and as cheap.

Whoever

Whoever ſhall go into a fair in the country, or into the Houſe of Commons in Dublin, which is, or *we all know* ought to be, the Repreſentative of all the *fairs* in the country, will quickly perceive that foppery is not the predominant vice of the good people of Ireland. I am ready to grant that a few perhaps may be found in both places, who are what their neighbours call Beaux ——— but thoſe are very few; and their caſt of character is generally drawn into ſome unpleaſant notice, both in the honourable Houſe and in the fair, by the ſalutary wit of a nick-name. It muſt be admitted then, that the cauſe of this demand upon our legiſlature is, *that we are underſold at home.*

Before any legiſlature ſhould carry a propoſition of this nature into a law: into a law likely to operate ſo extenſively as this neceſſarily muſt do, they ſhould be fully ſatisfied of the truth of this aſſertion———that it will be a law likely to operate to the good of the *whole* community. If it ſhould operate immediately to the good of any one particular part, without at the ſame time operating to the injury of any other particular part, I apprehend it would be a law operating ultimately to the good of the whole: inaſmuch as the wealth of one part muſt neceſſarily diffuſe itſelf in a degree through the remainder. But if it ſhould be a law operating to the profit of any one part of the community, at an expence equivalent to that profit thrown upon any other parts of the community, it could not be a law operating to the good of the whole. If the profit of the one part were preciſely equal to the loſs ſuſtained by the other part, and ſo there were no actual loſs ſuſtained, yet it would be a law not only not operating to the good of the whole, but a law actually operating to the injury of the whole. For it would turn the tide

of

of induſtry out of its natural and fixed channel, into an artificial, and conſequently an uncertain one.

And again, admitting the profits to be preciſely equal to the loſs, yet ſtill if the profit were given entirely to one part of the community, and if the loſs were divided among many parts of it, it would be a dangerous, and conſequently an injurious law. For the profit which was given to one part, being heaped in one ſpot, the increaſe would be eaſily diſcerned: but the loſs, although equal to the profit, yet being divided into many parts, the diminution could not be perceived; and thus the community would be cheated into a belief of an increaſe of wealth, which it had actually never acquired——a dangerous and injurious belief!

I have have ſtated the matter in theſe various points of view, becauſe I am fully perſuaded that to aſcertain whether the meaſure of protecting duties, will operate ultimately to the good of the whole community, it will be neceſſary to examine it in every one of them. You may call me formal if you pleaſe, for the manner in which I have done this——but if by becoming more formal I ſhall become more clear, if I can convince your underſtanding, by affording you an opportunity to laugh a little at me, I ſhall give you your jeſt, and proceed with my argument.

The general ſyſtem of England in her commerce, has been this ſyſtem of reſtraint and protection, with ſome occaſional deviations however from her general rule. The general ſyſtem of Holland, on the contrary, has been a ſyſtemof commerce free and unprotected, with ſome occaſional deviations into the ſyſtem of England——

into

into reſtraint and protection. Both countries have in general purſued ſyſtems directly oppoſite, but they have occaſionally adopted the maxims of each other. Both countries working under theſe oppoſite plans of commercial intercourſe, have acquired a degree of wealth and power unknown to the other ſtates of Europe. I have made theſe obſervations upon the different conduct of the two countries, not that I intend to apply them immediately, but that you may carry them in your recollection until the application will be too obvious to eſcape you.

HAVING endeavoured to prepare your mind by the foregoing obſervations for this examination, I ſhall trouble you to follow me while I examine a queſtion which comes home to the "buſineſs and boſom" of every Iriſhman—whether the meaſure of protecting duties, as I have before ſtated it, is a meaſure which it would be prudent in the legiſlature of Ireland to adopt: either circumſtanced as Ireland is at preſent, or in any other circumſtances in which we can conceive her to exiſt?

IRELAND muſt adopt it then, either as a principle univerſally uſeful, or as one which would be uſeful to her from her particular circumſtances.

WE ſhall preſently ſee how far it can be conſidered as a principle univerſally uſeful, by ſuppoſing it carried univerſally into execution.

THE miſts of prejudice, and the clouds of error which relaxed the induſtry and defaced the morals of Europe, for ſo many centuries after the downfal of the Roman empire, have been for above 200 years laſt paſt gradually evaporating and diſperſing. The different nations of Europe are now beginning

beginning clearly to perceive the advantages reſulting from general commerce, of enabling each other to participate of the productions of different ſoils and climates, and of the different exertions of human induſtry and invention. With the eagerneſs natural to human nature upon the appearance of a new object of hope, they are now all running the race of commerce. If the Iriſh ſhould adopt this meaſure as a general principle, it is not probable that the ſalutary regimen will remain long a ſecret. The wiſdom of our Volunteers has already appeared in the Amſterdam gazette——and that is a paper, as George Faulkner ſaid of the Dublin Journal, read in the coffee houſes of Conſtantinople and Dunſtable. The wiſdom of Ireland muſt ſtamp authority on it——let us ſuppoſe it then univerſally adopted. To a benevolent mind, no proſpect can be more delightful, than the contemplation of the univerſal adoption of a principle which, wherever it is received, muſt give new hands to induſtry, and new wings to invention. Let us indulge ourſelves in the pleaſing hope of ſeeing England prohibit our linen and our beef, the wines and fruit of Portugal, Spain or France: Portugal, or Spain, prohibit the hardware and the woollens of England, the linen and the beef of Ireland; and America prohibit every thing.

In ſhort let us ſuppoſe, in imitation of the wiſdom of Ireland, a complete and univerſal prevention to take place in every country, of the importation of every article which could in any way be fabricated at home, or for which any ſuccedaneum could be diſcovered. Alas! what is become of our benevolence now? Shall ſhe never drink punch again? Every thing being prevented from being imported

every

every where, any thing cannot be exported anywhere. After ſuch a concluſion, it would be ridiculous to dwell upon this part of the ſubject any longer. But I ſhall go farther. I ſhall ſuppoſe for a little time, that the eagerneſs of imitation, or the ſweets of retaliation and revenge, would not in this caſe operate as they operate in moſt caſes on mankind, and that no ſuch univerſal adoption of this commercial principle, as I have mentioned, ſhould take place. On the contrary, I will ſuppoſe the reſt of Europe, particularly England, ſo blind or ſo tender-hearted as to permit Ireland to attempt to enrich herſelf at their expence. Yet I ſhall not ſcruple to aſſert, that however freely ſhe might be permitted to indulge herſelf in her ſchemes of aggrandiſement, without danger of retaliation from England or any other country, ſhe could not enrich herſelf by any ſuch meaſure.

— To ſave the inconvenience of contradiction, and perverſion, it is often neceſſary to ſtate that which is already known and admitted. That we may aſcertain what the means are by which a nation may moſt probably be enriched, it will be neceſſary for us to aſk in what the wealth of a nation conſiſts? For the ſake of truth, we ſhould be accurate even to enumeration in this particular. It is eaſy for falſe, to wear the appearance of true reaſoning, when it travels through general and undefined terms, and gives us a compariſon where an inſtance ſhould be produced.

The wealth of a nation then conſiſts in that ſtock of materials, whatever thoſe materials may be, which are neceſſary or pleaſing to the exiſtence of man—which conſtitute his neceſſaries or his comforts. This ſtock of materials may be ſaid to conſiſt particularly of food, cloaths, houſes, houſhold furniture,

furniture, buildings for the aſſiſtance of labour or the preſervation of goods, money, improvements of land, of all the different articles, in whatever ſtage of preparation they may be of which theſe are compounded———to theſe muſt be added, as a part of the ſtock, the acquired and uſeful ſkill of all the inhabitants. I pretend not to be perfectly accurate in this enumeration. Something in the hurry in which I am obliged to call upon my memory, may have eſcaped me. It will be ſufficient for me, if I ſhall be able to point your attention to the proper objects.

Of the whole quantity of theſe materials which are called ſtock, ſome part of it is neceſſarily appropriated to the immediate conſumption of the people, and conſequently cannot increaſe. The other part, after having laid by all that is neceſſary for immediate conſumption, is kept as a ſubject of the induſtry of the people to work upon, and by working upon to increaſe, and is called the capital. What is true of a nation in this particular, is true of every individual in it. Every man will find this diviſion take place in his property. Although I have enumerated the ſkill of the inhabitants among the different articles of ſtock, it is palpable that it is of a different nature from the reſt. It is the vital principle of the whole capital. It is a collection of ſprings, by which all the various parts of the capital are moved. The five Dutchmen who were caſt away on the coaſt of Greenland, had, I ſuppoſe, as much induſtry and ſkill as any of their countrymen who reſided in Holland; but for want of materials, that is, capital to work upon, they were neceſſitated to ſpend the half of their days in ſleep, and the whole of them in poverty.

Hence

HENCE it follows, that any attempt to increaſe the induſtry of the ſociety, without, at the ſame time, increaſing the quantity of materials upon which that induſtry is to work, muſt fail of ſucceſs. That, and that only, which adds to the wealth of a nation, is the difference between thoſe articles which are added to the capital of the ſociety, by the induſtry of its members, and thoſe which are taken from it within the ſame ſpace of time for their conſumption. Now what regulation of commerce, prohibiting the importation of any given commodity, can increaſe that difference. You reply, that by invigorating the induſtry of ſociety, you will thereby increaſe the quantity of materials for it to work upon. No. The induſtry of every ſociety is proportioned to a certain increaſe of its materials, and by that certain increaſe of its materials, a foundation is laid for a new acceſſion of induſtry. But if you would ſuddenly increaſe the induſtry of any ſociety, beyond what the former increaſe of its materials has laid a foundation for, you muſt alſo ſuddenly increaſe the quantity of materials beyond the former ſtock.

THE increaſe of materials muſt, by the inevitable relation of things, *precede* the increaſe of induſtry. The firſt ſtroke of the induſtry of man was applied to materials, *previouſly* provided by nature. Had theſe materials not been *previouſly* provided, his induſtry, never could have had a *commencement*. Having, I think, clearly proved, that an increaſe of materials muſt *precede* an increaſe of induſtry, it remains to be ſhewn whether a protecting duty can prepare that increaſe of the ſtock of materials. It cannot. A protecting duty when enacted, will not add an additional number of ploughſhares, to aſſiſt the hand of man in tilling the earth. It will not dive into the earth to procure

the iron to make that ploughſhare. It will not procure corn to be ſown, nor leather to be tanned, nor wool to be ſpun. Is it expected that the magic of a protecting duty, will operate as powerfully as the agency of the Grecian deities, and cauſe a horſe and an olive tree to ſpring at once from the earth, for the uſe of its favourite city?

As it is obvious then, that a protecting duty cannot, of itſelf, increaſe the quantity of materials in any country; and, as it is equally obvious, that induſtry cannot be maintained without a capital of materials to work upon, it follows inevitably, that an inſtrument which cannot *previouſly* increaſe the quantity of materials or capital, can never increaſe the induſtry of any country.

—But, after this reaſoning, however convincing it may appear in theory, ſome account muſt be given to you of that appearance in other countries, which, as it has always followed the enacting of protecting duties, has therefore been always conſidered as an effect of it. I mean the increaſe of that particular manufacture, in favour of which protecting duties have been enacted.

Experience here ſeems to be directly againſt the reaſoning of which I have made uſe. I admit, that wherever a protecting duty has been enacted, an increaſe of the particular manufacture in favour of which it was enacted has followed. I admit, that this effect is apparently againſt the reaſoning which I have laid before you: but I ſay, that it is only ſo apparently. For although I admit, that wherever a protecting duty has been enacted, an increaſe of the *particular manufacture* has followed; yet, I deny that thereby the wealth of the *whole community* has been increaſed. This will be beſt

explained

explained by tracing the effects of a protecting duty. Let me ſuppoſe then a protecting duty had actually taken place in favour of our woollen manufactures. The effect of this would be an immediate activity in that branch of buſineſs. But by what means does the protecting duty produce this effect? By obliging every conſumer in the community to pay a price for goods, which otherwiſe he would not do. Remember, that the reaſon for a protecting duty is, that the ſame ſort of goods can be had elſewhere, better or cheaper. What then is the conſumer compelled to? To pay a greater price for the ſame goods, or the ſame price for worſe goods than he could otherwiſe have obtained.

Now what is the price that the conſumer pays? Money you will ſay. No. Money is the inſtrument by which he facilitates the exchange; but the price which he actually pays, is ſo much as he gave of his labour and ſkill, working upon his capital to acquire that money. What is the actual effect then of a protecting duty upon the whole community? It compels every conſumer to give ſo much more of his time, labour, and ſkill, working upon his capital, for the commodity of which he ſtands in need, than he otherwiſe ſhould have done.

THE revenue of every country is produced by the labour of the inhabitants, operating upon its capital. The addition to the wealth of any country, is made by the difference between its conſumption and its revenue. If then the inhabitants ſhall be compelled to give ſo much *more* of their revenue, that is, their labour, working upon their capital, for any part of their conſumption, than they otherwiſe ſhould have done, it is obvious

that they produce ſo much leſs by their labour, and by conſequence, the difference between the amount of the conſumption, and revenue of the country is leſſened, not increaſed.

THE policy of every legiſlature ſhould be, to enable its people to obtain the greateſt poſſible quantity of every kind of conſumable commodity, by the ſmalleſt poſſible exertion of labour; for the leſs labour it is neceſſary to exert in the acquiſition of any particular commodity, the more may be ſpared for the acquiſition of others. Hence the advantages of all ſorts of machines, in the abridgment of all ſorts of labour. Here then is a policy directly oppoſite to that general rule. It obliges every conſumer of woollen cloth, to give a greater exertion to his labour, for the acquiſition of that which could have been obtained for a leſs. It operates upon every conſumer, as if he were tranſported to a climate leſs friendly, and a ſoil leſs fertile than that in which he had lived. He is obliged to exert himſelf more to live as well as he had before done. It operates as a tax upon every conſumer in the country, the amount of which is put into the pockets of a few of the manufacturers. Now, as the number of conſumers of any one article muſt infinitely exceed that of the manufacturers, how can any legiſlature juſtify the taxation of a larger body of its ſubjects in favour of a ſmaller. But in a trading country moſt of the conſumers of any particular commodity are themſelves manufacturers. In proportion as they are taxed for any article of conſumption, they will raiſe the price of every article of their own manufacture upon other conſumers. Hence the riſe of every article of manufacture, in conſequence of the riſe of one——hence the unfitneſs, from the univerſal dearneſs of commodities, to ſupply foreign markets

——hence

——hence the very manufacturers, in whoſe favour a protecting duty ſhould be enacted, would be themſelves taxed to pay the price of their own avarice.

But it will be anſwered to this argument, that it proves too much. That it proves that no country could have ſucceeded, where ſuch a miſerable policy had been adopted. That the inſtance of England where this policy was adopted, proves the fallacy of the argument. But I reply, that the inſtance of England does not prove the fallacy of the argument. On the contrary, it illuſtrates and enforces its truth. It is the want of attention to the *particulars* of the progreſs of England that deceives. England began very early to addict herſelf to commerce. In this purſuit ſhe had the advantage of moſt of her preſent competitors, by having begun before them. England began very early to diſplay the marks of her blundering avarice, her prohibitions both of export and import. Yet with much induſtry, frugality, and a very arrogant ſpirit of monopoly, her commercial ſucceſs, until about the commencement of the preſent century, was but ſmall.

If we compare the commercial advancement of England with that of Holland, we ſhall find that ſhe was infinitely outdone by Holland before this laſt century; yet England ſet out with an infinitely greater extent of territory, and exceeded Holland in the numbers of her people, in the fertility of her ſoil, and the quantity of her capital. Add to the diſadvantages of Holland, that ſhe began her courſe under the burthen of a war carried on in her own country, againſt a powerful and implacable maſter, who endeavoured with his whole force to haraſs and oppreſs her. She eſcaped from

from this; but ſhe eſcaped with an unſettled government, a ſmall capital, and that capital in debt. Holland however had proceeded on a better plan than England had, and ſhe ſucceeded accordingly. ¶ The firſt conſiderable advance which England made in her commerce, did not proceed from any advantages which ſhe produced in her own market.

THE wars with the Dutch in the time of the Commonwealth, and in the reign of Charles the Second, diſturbed their commerce ſo much, that England was enabled to ſeize a part of that body which ſhe had ſeparated and ſcattered. Her natural ſtrength enabled her to cope with the acquired power of her wiſer adverſary. After theſe wars the firſt conſiderable addition to the commerce of England was obſerved; but this was the plunder of a robber, not the profit of a merchant. From this period, that is from the end of the war, which was concluded by the peace of Nimeguen, in 1678, to the year 1704, the increaſe of the Engliſh commerce was not of any extraordinary magnitude. Scarcely any thing but what will be added by every frugal nation to its capital, by the difference between the produce of its induſtry and its conſumption. Not ſo much as would have been added to it, had every one of her ports been as open as St. Euſtatia was at the time of its late capture. I take the year 1704 particularly, becauſe I am enabled from the papers which were laid upon the table in the Engliſh Houſe of Commons, in the year 1775, to ſtate the amount of the trade of England in 1704. In the year 1704, the whole export of England to all the world, amounted to 6,509,000l. Immediately prior to the year 1775, the whole export trade to all the world, ſtood at about 16,000,000l.

FROM

From the firſt peopling of England down to the year 1704, the accumulated induſtry of England, produced little more than 6,000,000l. But in little better than half a century nearly 10,000,000l. were added to this. To what was this alteration owing? To the colony trade. Of this laſt ſum of nearly 10,000,000l. the colony export amounted to above 6,000,000l.——and was ſuppoſed to have been a cauſe of the increaſe of the other parts of the export. The colony trade alone, in the latter period, was equal to the entire trade in the former.

After this ſhort ſtate of the progreſs of England, let me call your attention for a moment to the inference which may be drawn from it. I ſay then, that from comparing the two different ſtages into which I have divided the progreſs of England, it appears, that during the firſt period ſhe had been ſtruggling with a falſe policy, of which ſhe felt the effects, but was ignorant of the cauſe. This is evident, by her having been outdone by Holland, in the ſame attempt; but who, either by ſuperior wiſdom or better fortune, had taken another courſe. During this time however, accident and her own ambition, had led England into a ſyſtem of coloniſing. Under a variety of fortunes theſe colonies had increaſed. In theſe colonies then ſhe found a remedy for that diſeaſe which her own intemperance had brought upon her.

As the dearneſs of her manufactures, occaſioned by the ſhackles which had been thrown upon her trade, had excluded her from markets which ſhe would have been obliged *to court*, ſhe was fortunate in having found thoſe where ſhe could *dictate*. She owed her profit to her power of dictating to ſo large an empire as ſhe held in ſubjection. She barricaded her intercourſe with the colonies by every inſtrument

ment which enormous expence could enable her to collect—ſhe precluded all other nations from competition, for ſhe knew it would have been fatal.

AGAIN, the revenue acquired by the colony exports, was not as the revenue acquired by the exports to independent kingdoms would have been, clear gain. England expended 200,000,000l. in the ſupport and preſervation of this complicated ſyſtem of commerce. She did ſo: and while ſurrounding nations ſat, as in a theatre, the ſilent ſpectators of this diſplay of her *power*, the ſpring of *liberty* is touched, the lights of her glory ſink, and the ſplendid machinery on which ſo many millions had been laviſhed, vaniſhes for ever!

BUT I will not take advantage in argument, of the miſerable termination which has been put to the commercial grandeur of England; I will ſuppoſe that grandeur to ſubſiſt. What follows from the example? That to ſupport a ſyſtem of *prohibition*, a ſyſtem of *monopoly* is neceſſary. That to ſupport theſe ſyſtems ſo contrary to the intereſts of mankind, a nation muſt fight, ſhe muſt negotiate, ſhe muſt conquer or colonize. Therefore a ſyſtem of prohibition *alone* is not to be ſupported. But can Ireland fight, negociate, conquer or colonize? Has ſhe 200,000,000l. to expend in theſe purſuits, or if ſhe had, would ſhe ſo expend it? But I will quit *this* view of England, from which it clearly appears, that her conduct affords no example againſt the truth of that commercial theory, which I have endeavoured to eſtabliſh. ‖ I will take a view of England ſtronger againſt my own argument. Separate the two periods into which the trade of England has been divided, and take the latter. From the year 1704, England was all prohibition and monopoly

nopoly; ſhe was at the ſame time all activity, all power, and all wealth. Were not the latter then the effects of the former? I ſhall admit they were; but I will ſtill ſay, that even this view of England affords no example againſt the general theory.

If we include the dominions of England, in Europe, in the Eaſt, and in the Weſt, we ſhall find that her empire, like that of ancient Rome, "compre-"hended the faireſt part of the earth, and the moſt "civilized portion of mankind*." She exceeded antient Rome in extent of territory, in infinite variety of ſoil and climate, and in the dexterity and ingenuity of her ſubjects. For an empire like this, who included *within herſelf*, every production that could relieve the neceſſities, or gratify the luxuries of mankind, to prohibit was hardly to *exclude*. She could ſupply herſelf, within herſelf, with every thing. This example only proves, that in proportion as empire extends over fertile ſoils, and various climates, and in proportion as it can command the range of human ingenuity, its wants of external commerce are leſſened. The effects of a prohibitory ſyſtem therefore, become only leſs pernicious as this proportion increaſes. The empire of China may venture to deſpiſe and to thwart foreign commerce; but theſe examples, though exceptions, juſtify the general theory—they ſhew the variety of circumſtances which are required by any ſtate to juſtify a deviation from it. But it will be ſaid, that England owed her extent of dominion to the very ſyſtem which I oppoſe. It is not ſo. She fought for dominion, and the nation which fights, cannot be ſaid to owe her greatneſs to any ſyſtem. Her ſucceſſes will be determined by accidents, the riſe of which cannot be foreſeen or commanded.—

Had

* Gibbon.

Had Harry the Fourth of France ſucceeded quietly to his crown; had France been able to purſue his politics after his death; or in a later period, had not the projects of Louis the Fourteenth directed in ſome degree the French activity from commercial purſuits, the flight of England muſt have been lowered. The misfortunes which the character of Philip the Second of Spain entailed upon that country, contributed not a little to elevate the fortune of England. Theſe were circumſtances which no penetration could foreſee, and which if foreſeen, no ſyſtem could have controlled.

— THE example of France, who purſued the ſame ſyſtem as England, will, no doubt, be urged againſt me—but it will be urged againſt me in vain.

SULLY, the wiſeſt politician, and the honeſteſt miniſter that ever ſerved a grateful maſter, as ſoon as the ſettlement of the government enabled him, encouraged the agriculture of France: not by monoplies or prohibitions, but by lightening as much as poſſible the burthen of taxation on the huſbandman, and by encouraging him to expect a ſteady poſſeſſion of his profits and of his capital. Under this wiſe ſyſtem, the nation ſpeedily recovered from the injuries of a civil war. Under it ſhe would have flouriſhed. But Colbert, who came ſome time after him, leſs ſagacious and more impatient, threw a greedy eye upon the gaudineſs of manufacture. He prohibited from abroad, and he encouraged at home. What was the conſequence? Manufactures flouriſhed, but agriculture decayed.

THE French ever ſince the time of Colbert, tho' the moſt induſtrious people in Europe, and poſſeſſing the moſt fertile territory, have been more frequently ſubject to famine than any other nation. The ſhuttle flew, and the people ſtarved! This is the

the conſequence of attempting to increaſe the induſtry of a people, without having previouſly increaſed their capital. This is preciſely taking from one body of ſubjects a quantity of induſtry and capital, and giving it to another—*turning the tide of induſtry out of its natural and fixed channel, into an artificial, and conſequently an uncertain one.* France has been for ſome years endeavouring to correct the miſtakes of Colbert.

But if what I have ſtated of France were not true, her example would not juſtify Ireland. France may be compared to one of thoſe great empires which have been already mentioned. Her colonies were conſiderable. She commanded above 16,000,000 of people at home; ſhe poſſeſſed above 150,000 ſquare miles of the moſt fertile territory, ſituated in the moſt beneficent climate in Europe. Can Ireland, narrowed in her territory, leſs fertile in her ſoil, with ſomething under 3,000,000 of people, and under the influence of a more ſullen climate, preſume to deviate into the policy of France? What then remains for her? To reject a ſyſtem contradicted by theory, and unwarranted by example.

I may now, I think, venture to aſſert, that the country which is enabled to exchange the ſmalleſt proportion of any commodity which it has, and which it does not want, for the greateſt proportion of any commodity which it has not, and which it does want, is the moſt likely to become rich. It is evident that this cannot be attained by any method but by an open market. But as a market entirely open cannot be expected in any country which has the expences of its government to defray, a market as near to an open one as thoſe expences will admit, is moſt to be deſired. The advantage

of

of an open market has been as evident in practice as I hope it now appears in theory. From the taking of Tyre by Alexander, to the taking of St. Euſtatia by Admiral Rodney,* there has not been a ſingle inſtance of any place declaring, and preſerving itſelf a free port, which has not riſen into a degree of wealth, infinitely beyond any thing which has been acquired by other ſyſtems of policy.

It has been, I think, clearly ſhewn, that the principle of ſecuring the home market againſt a foreign intercourſe, by protecting duties, would be generally injurious; but I will forego the advantage of my own argument. I will for a moment ſuppoſe the clamours of our countrymen to be founded in ſound policy, and I will admit that a protecting duty, inſtead of having been proved to be an injurious ſyſtem of policy, had appeared to have been a ſalutary one. However ſound a general principle of policy may appear, it will ſometimes happen, that a country may find ſuch a combination of circumſtances to ariſe from her connections and ſituation, as to warrant a deviation from it.

Admitting then, that the meaſure of protecting duties, inſtead of being a meaſure injurious to commerce, was an encouragement and an aſſiſtance to it; I will venture to aſſert, that there is now ſuch a combination of circumſtances in the connections and ſituation of Ireland, as ſhould induce her to deviate from it. It is natural to man to dwell with peculiar complacency upon the phantoms of his own imagination—he conſiders them as real objects

* I do not intend to ſuggeſt any likeneſs between the two heroes by placing them together. In three circumſtances indeed they afford ſome likeneſs—rapacity, inſolence, and good fortune.

truly

truly repreſented, nor once perceives the medium through which they are diſtorted. What is true of individuals, will be generally true of governments and of nations—the ſame paſſions excite, the ſame fancies miſlead. To detect this propenſity in individuals and in ſtates, may be uſeful on the preſent occaſion. It may teach them both to avoid hazarding experiments, where want of ſucceſs and total ruin ſtand for each other.

IRELAND is at this inſtant in poſſeſſion of a branch of trade, in which ſhe ſtands confeſſedly ſuperior to any nation in the world: it has long enriched the whole, and now actually employs a moiety of her people *. Of this manufacture, the whole of what has hitherto been exported, has been exported to Great Britain; and nine tenths of what has been ſent there, has been conſumed there. The actual ſubſiſtence then of one half, and the eaſe and wealth of the whole of the people of this kingdom depend not merely upon the general trade of Great Britain, but upon actual conſumption within that kingdom.

WE are now clamouring for duties, the avowed purpoſe of which is to prevent the introduction into this kingdom of the ſtaple commodity of that country, whoſe internal conſumption is the ſole ſource of our induſtry and our wealth. Forbearance and generoſity have ſeldom been national characteriſtics any where; but if they were, we could have little hope of their prevalence in Great Britain. The counſels of Great Britain have been more influenced by pride and ſelfiſhneſs, than thoſe

* Beſide the whole province of Ulſter—the following counties have each of them a ſhare of this trade more or leſs, viz. Louth, King's County, Queen's County, Drogheda, Dublin, Sligo, Mayo, Roſcommon, Cork and Kildare.

perhaps

perhaps of any other nation. The general character of nations, and the particular character of Great Britain, therefore, warrant the opinion, that ſhe will be as ready to retaliate the injury, as we are to inflict it.

PERMIT me then, to ſtate at once our gain and loſs upon this occaſion, and let ſelf-intereſt draw the concluſion. We gain a certainty of ſupplying ourſelves at home with particular articles of conſumption, which we are now furniſhed with from a foreign market. This is the only *certain* advantage (and were I diſpoſed to argue all that could be argued, it might perhaps be proved, that even this is problematical*) which can attend this meaſure. We alſo open to ourſelves a probability, or rather a poſſibility of improving thoſe manufactures in whoſe favour the duties are intended, ſo far as to be able to vie with other nations in foreign markets: ſo that we ſee the whole extent of benefit, which can, even by the moſt fortunate iſſue, accrue from the adoption of this meaſure, conſiſts in advancing the woollen and cotton manufactories, to the ſame degree of national advantage which ariſes from the linen at preſent. Thus ſtands our account of gain. The loſs which will attend it, conſiſts in a certain deſtruction of our linen manufacture—a manufacture already matured, neceſſary to all the purpoſes of home conſumption and

* When the encouragement given to ſmuggling by every high duty, comes to be conſidered, it will appear that this aſſertion is well founded—that a high duty cannot always protect. This will be particularly true, with regard to Great Britain and Ireland; from the neighbourhood of their coaſts, and from the appointment of the officers of revenue in Ireland, being in the hands of Engliſhmen. From this laſt circumſtance it is not probable, that a law, which is in fact a bribe to our governors to encourage ſmuggling, will be carried very rigorouſly into execution.

foreign

foreign ſupply, which affords an immenſe revenue to the kingdom, into which the genius of the people hath been turned, from the firſt dawn of induſtry among them; and for what? For the chance of an event which ſucceeding to our utmoſt wiſhes, can at laſt only place us in the ſame degree of conſequence, as a trading nation, that we at preſent enjoy.

But you will ſay, that I have been all this time arguing on a falſe ſuppoſition. That I have ſuppoſed England to purſue a conduct which ſhe will not. Let us examine this matter. You deny that England will prohibit the importation of our linens; you ſay that it is not conſiſtent with the ſelfiſh character of the Engliſh, to ſubject themſelves to an inconvenience merely to revenge a loſs. The validity of the charge then againſt me, depends upon England's ſuffering an inconvenience from the prohibition of Iriſh linen. If I ſhew to you that England will gain conſiderably by the prohibition of our linens, you are no longer protected by their ſelfiſh character.

Look then at the Engliſh ſtatutes relating to the importation of linens, from the 10 Ann. c. 19. downwards; you will ſee that the conſumption of foreign linen in England is ſubjected to a weighty duty. How does that duty operate? As a premium upon the conſumption of Iriſh linen. Take away the duty, what will be the effect? That the manufacturers of Ireland in the Britiſh markets could be underſold by the Germans, &c. from 15 to 20 per cent. The very circumſtance of relieving foreign linens from the duty which they are liable to pay at preſent, would operate as a prohibition upon the importation of ours. I ſay as a prohibition, for where there could be no demand,

there

there would be no importation: And what individual in England would pay 20 per cent. more for a piece of linen, merely becauſe it was made in Ireland, than he could get a piece of linen of any other country for? The induſtry of England is by theſe laws taxed to ſupport the induſtry of Ireland. The difference of price is the ſame thing as the difference of labour, in procuring any article; and if a tax compels you to pay a higher price for any article than you could have procured it for if that tax had not exiſted, that tax diſables you from being able to produce ſo much by your labour as you could have done without it. Add to this, that there is another tax upon the induſtry of England to ſupport the induſtry of Ireland. I mean the bounties which are paid from one halfpenny to three halfpence, upon Iriſh linens exported from Great Britain; the amount of that bounty paid upon the exportation of Iriſh linen, muſt be produced by the labour of England.

But ſuppoſing that this advantage did not hold itſelf out as a temptation to England. Suppoſing that they could not eaſe themſelves of a conſiderable part of their burthens, by attacking the induſtry of Ireland in this unfortified part; let us examine whether there be not ſome other inducements to it.

It is much eaſier after any art has arrived to any tolerable degree of perfection, to raiſe it up to the higheſt degree of refinement of which it is capable, than to raiſe it from its firſt rudiments up to that tolerable ſtate. The firſt awkward attempts of induſtry got over, the way becomes leſs difficult as we aſcend. Hence arts which have been travelling for centuries towards a middle ſtate will gain the ſummit of perfection in the courſe of a few years.

There

" There is now, and has been for a conſiderable time paſt, a linen manufacture exiſting in Great Britain. It has gone beyond that middle ſtate, to attain which, is the difficult part of the progreſs. It has been computed, that this manufacture has employed not leſs than 800,000 perſons. The neceſſity which England, from her late misfortunes, now labours under, of ſeeking for every reſource of wealth within herſelf, would fully juſtify her policy in endeavouring to make her linen manufacture a *ſecond ſtaple* of England. It has already become a pleaſing object of national contemplation. In the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, it engaged the attention of the country gentlemen; and the eloquence of ſome of the ſenators of England was employed in perſuading parliament to adopt ſome method of encouraging IT, by *protecting duties*: And as among other good effects of our free trade, a cargo of our oratory is, we underſtand, intended to be exported, and offered for the ſupply of the Engliſh market; we may yet hear of Iriſh provincial ſounds being tuned to the meaſure of Engliſh protecting duties!

You perceive then, how the intereſt of England is doubly tempted to ruin us. On the one hand, to relieve herſelf from the weighty tax of taking our linens at a price of 15 or 20 per cent. dearer than ſhe could ſupply herſelf elſewhere; or on the other, to aſſiſt the progreſs of a riſing and a favourite manufacture of her own. Refuſe the admiſſion of her manufactures into your ports, and you add the ſtimulations of revenge to the urgency of avarice. You can then have little to hope from the intereſt, and ſurely nothing to expect from the benevolence of England. That trade which has been hitherto the ſource of employment and of wealth, will be loſt to us for ever.

We caſt off that full grown offspring which had long nouriſhed and ſupported us, and adopt a ſickly infant, whoſe arriving at maturity is at beſt doubtful. We give up a fair inheritance of ample revenue, for an uncertain reverſion, which can at laſt but equal what we at preſent enjoy; and for the chance of enabling generations yet unborn, to arrive at the *ſame* rank in the commercial ſyſtem which we now relinquiſh, reduce ourſelves to inſtant beggary! Did we ſacrifice preſent advantages to give an increaſe of wealth and dignity to future ages, the refinement of patriotiſm might applaud the deed: but here we have preſent poverty without future benefit—We cannot even expect the gratitude of poſterity, to reward us for our ſelf-denial. From this ſingle inſtance then, we may collect how big with deſtruction to this country that meaſure would prove, which is now preſſed upon us for our approbation. Were it neceſſary to extend our obſervation, it would be eaſy to ſhew, that this is not the only aſpect in which the adoption of this plan, would have a malignant influence upon the welfare of this kingdom—Not only that general jealouſy which would inſtantly ariſe among all nations, from a ſyſtem founded on a principle of monopoly, ſhould be avoided; but the connection of this country with England, is ſuch as would render the raiſing ſuch a ſentiment there, fraught with peculiar danger.——Where the intereſt of governors and governed are ſuppoſed to be at variance, there never can be peace; it will be at the beſt "*a ſtate of ſmother'd war:*" and though we may now, with a degree of pride due to our virtuous efforts, ſay, that we are not governed by England, we are yet governed by Engliſhmen.——They will ever think it neceſſary, to preſerve the intereſts of that kingdom from which they are ſent; and will certainly oppoſe the adoption of meaſures

that

that will appear to them, to have no other object in view, than to diſtreſs the people of that country.

If we examine into the ſpirit which dictates this plan, we will find it to be the pride of equality; not an attention to profit—ſhould we however purſue, it will be an equality of wrong, not an equality of right; of injury, not of benefit; of folly, not of wiſdom. We grow rich by the exchange of commodities; and as we extend our markets, we increaſe the opportunities of acquiring. We have at preſent a market in ſome degree extenſive; but by the falſe policy of our neighbours, not ſo extenſive as we could wiſh. In order to remedy this inconvenience, we narrow that ſtile more, which we complain is already too ſmall: we complain of the ſelfiſh jealouſy of England, and at the ſame moment juſtify her by following her example. We ſee then, that in every point of view, in which this meaſure can be conſidered, as we ſtand connected with England, it is a meaſure full of impolicy and ruin: and that even allowing the general principle of a protecting duty to be a juſt one, there are many circumſtances in the preſent ſituation of Ireland, with reſpect to that country, which would not only warrant but demand a deviation.

— But it is not only her relation to England, which ſhould induce this deviation.

The ſyſtem of commercial intercourſe now commencing between the old and the new world, ſeems likely to prove a ſource of wealth and power, of the extent of which any intercourſe which has been hitherto carried on by mankind, can give but an inadequate idea. Ireland is ſituate in a climate of ſo even a temperature, that its ports are equally acceſſible at all ſeaſons. This is a bleſſing to which

the northern part of the continent of Europe, and almoſt the whole northern part of the continent of America are entirely ſtrangers. Theſe two diſtinguiſhed portions of the globe, are now peopled by the moſt active part of the human race. Beſides its being ſituated in a climate ſo advantageous to commerce, the ſhipping of both continents muſt take their departure from, or make the land of Ireland in their voyages. Ireland is the uniting ſpot, where the inhabitants of both hemiſpheres will hail each other.

The perſons moſt ſkilled in the American trade admit, that they can make five voyages between any of the weſtern ports of Ireland and America, in the ſame ſpace of time that they can make three to any of the trading ports of England. Ireland has the advantage of ſituation therefore over the neareſt parts of Europe, as five to three: her climate and her poſition then, are both pointing the way her to glory. What is that way which they are pointing at? To make herſelf a general market for the commodities of two worlds.

By a general market, I mean a place provided with that general aſſortment of goods, that ſhips unlading the commodities of any one country, may find that variety of articles by which they can, in one ſpot, procure a completely aſſorted cargo, to carry back whence they came.

In a commercial intercourſe between two countries of great extent, where one abounds in a variety of fine manufactures, the eſtabliſhment of one ſpot, as a general market, is an inſtitution ſo uſeful that it muſt take place ſomewhere. The reaſon is evident. The profit of freight is the great inſtrument by which the particular channel of all commercial

mercial intercourſe is traced and determined.—Whatever mode of intercourſe will afford the greateſt profits of freight, that mode will be followed. In whatever intercourſe a general market comes to be eſtabliſhed, the profits of freight are more than doubled. For this reaſon, every perſon engaged in the carrying trade, will find it his intereſt to make common cauſe with all the reſt of the body of the people engaged in the ſame buſineſs, to eſtabliſh one general market. That general market will always be eſtabliſhed, where the laws of the country are moſt favourable to the perſons and property of individuals; and where the reſtraints upon export and import are the feweſt and the leaſt burdenſome. If to theſe advantages ſhould be added, in any one place, thoſe of climate and poſition, the eſtabliſhment of a general market, in that place muſt be inevitable. That the profits of freight are increaſed, that is, that intercourſe is facilitated, by the uſe of a general market, let me illuſtrate by an inſtance.

A SHIP freighted from America with the rude commodities of that country, will make the greateſt poſſible profit of the freight of that ſingle cargo, if ſhe can diſpoſe of it all in one ſpot, and return. If ſhe ſhould, from a want of demand in one, be obliged to break her bulk and go to many places, her profit will be leſſened: in as much as it is the ſame expence of labour and capital, in a veſſel of, I ſuppoſe, 100 tons burden, to carry 20 tons, as it is to carry 100 tons—but the profits on the carriage of 20 tuns can be but one fifth part of the profit on the carriage of 100. But her profit will be increaſed beyond the greateſt poſſible profit upon a firſt cargo, if ſhe can at the ſame port, where ſhe finds a demand for the whole of her rude cargo, find alſo a complete aſſortment of manufactured goods to carry

carry back. Being loaded both out and home, her profits of freight are doubled. But if in order to load herſelf both out and home, ſhe ſhould be obliged to go to ſeveral ports, either to diſpoſe of her firſt cargo, or to procure an aſſortment of a ſecond cargo, her profits of freight muſt be diminiſhed. For veſſels of bulk cannot, in the common courſe of demand, be loaded entirely with *one kind* of fine manufactured goods, as they can with one kind of rude commodity. A ſmall bulk of the firſt, will be of infinitely more value, than a great bulk of the latter.

HERE then, conſiſts the advantage of one general market. That by increaſing the quantity of demand in *one* ſpot, ſhipping can come fully laden with manufactured goods of one ſort, which may afterwards be broken into aſſortments, for the return cargoes of thoſe veſſels which brought the rude commodities: and thoſe veſſels which came with manufactured goods, may freight themſelves homeward, with ſuch rude materials as they may want. The profits of freight, are therefore, more than double to all the trading parties: for in being able to carry goods in large cargoes, and in being able to freight both out and home, is the great profit of the carrying trade. Hence it is, that articles of manufacture can frequently be had from a general market, cheaper than from the very ſpot where they were manufactured. The ports which are now in poſſeſſion of this general market, principally London, Amſterdam and Rotterdam, are in point of ſituation, highly inconvenient. They have ſuperadded ſome inconveniences alſo, by their laws. Ireland has the advantage of the world in ſituation for this purpoſe. She has this further advantage, that ſhe is not at preſent incumbered by any impolitic laws, which by intangling themſelves

ſelves in the whole buſineſs of commerce, are found very difficult to be got rid of, even after the impolicy of them has been diſcovered and acknowledged.

THAT this is the true ſyſtem then for Ireland to purſue, will, I believe, now hardly be denied.—Let us examine the effect which the new regulations of protecting duties, will have upon this ſyſtem.

BY protecting duties, you hinder the admiſſion of any manufactures into your country: and you muſt look to the induſtry of your own people, and to the length of your own capital, for your being able to ſupply any foreign demand. America is ſetting out at the ſame time with Ireland. She is connected with Ireland by the ſympathy which ſtruggles, though different in their means, yet ſimilar in their end, naturally excite. She is connected with her by the ties of private relationſhip, by old habits of intercourſe, and by ſpeaking one common language. She has no reſentments to aſſuage againſt Ireland, as ſhe has againſt Great Britain.

FROM theſe circumſtances it follows, that Ireland muſt become the favourite market of America, if Ireland will ſuffer herſelf to be made ſo. But America is a great market, and her wants are immediate. However Ireland might be favoured, yet if America cannot be ſupplied here, and ſupplied here *immediately*, ſhe muſt be ſupplied elſewhere.

THE means by which the people of Ireland expect to afford a ſupply for foreign demand, is by protecting duties. But allowing this inſtrument the full force which its admirers imagine it poſſeſſes, it will take many years before it can raiſe up a ſufficient ſtock of induſtry, and a capital to enable it to

to ſupply a foreign demand——many years before it can even equal the home demand. Now what is to become of the American demand for all this time. The demands of America are *immediate*. Our hope of being able to ſupply that demand by the means of protecting duties, is *remote*. Are the means then adequate to the end? They are not: for while this wonderful machine of regulation is toiling to produce its effects, years will elapſe; and during thoſe years, the people of America muſt wear coats, ſhoes, hats, and ſtockings. They muſt go to thoſe places where they can procure them. And while we are patiently waiting the effects of our admirable regulation, America will have formed all her correſpondences: her markets will be eſtabliſhed, her connexions fixed, and the whole texture of her commerce will become ſo interwoven with that of other nations, that it will be impoſſible to tear them aſunder. We are then diſabling ourſelves from ſupplying a market when we have one, that we may be able to ſupply a market when we ſhall not have one to ſupply.

But what policy ought we to purſue inſtead of this? To open our ports as much as poſſible to every ſpecies of foreign intercourſe, inſtead of cloſing them againſt any. To encourage by every means in our power, every acceſſion of foreign ſupply, of foreign wealth, and foreign induſtry amongſt us, that we may be enabled to ſupport the demand in a foreign market, for which we have not ourſelves a ſufficient ſtock either of induſtry or materials.———To learn as ſpeedily as we can, that to procure the greateſt poſſible quantity of any commodity, for the ſmalleſt poſſible exertion of labour, is the only poſition, the practice of which can lead to ſolid wealth—that if you can procure from foreigners any commodity upon cheaper terms, that

that is, for the produce of leſs labour than you can make it for yourſelf, always to take it—that ſuch a dealing with a foreigner, always leads to as much induſtry at home as if you made the commodity, and produces more; for that no foreigner will ſupply you with goods, unleſs you have ſomething to give him in exchange for it; and that to procure that ſomething, you muſt work—that every individual is a better judge in his own place, of the method of turning his induſtry to profit, than any legiſlature upon earth can be—and that therefore the only ſound encouragement, which any legiſlature can give to induſtry, is to protect it from external interruption, and internal oppreſſion, and then let it work for itſelf.

THEY who will ſtudy theſe important concluſions, founded in the relations of nature, may be uſeful, if they will be buſy. But if inſtead of learning ſuch general and wholeſome truths, they ſhould give themſelves up to the fatal enthuſiaſms of their own uninformed imaginations, and yet be active—they will be active like Ravaillac. The utmoſt happineſs which can attend them is, that they ſhould continue undeceived—and like Ravaillac, die praiſing God, for having conducted their dagger to the heart of their country's glory!

— PERMIT me now, before I quit you, to draw your attention to one or two local circumſtances.

THE poor manufacturers of Dublin have been exceedingly diſtreſſed: and it is fitting that ſome cauſe ſhould be aſſigned for it—that ſome remedy ſhould be diſcovered. It is ſaid, that there have been 7000 people out of employment. It is true, that ſince the peace, above 100,000 people, by the reduction of the army and navy, have been alſo deprived of

their

their employments: and it is equally true, that theſe 100,000 people have contrived to ſubſiſt, by getting ſome other employments. But that is no reaſon, that 7000 people, who, as they have been more clamorous, I ſuppoſe, muſt have been more diſtreſſed, ſhould be neglected.

It has been a cuſtom with the generous nobility and gentry of this country, whenever they have heard of a ſlackneſs in the demand for the manufactures of Dublin, to enter into a ſubſcription to ſupport them. This practice, which no doubt, proceeded from a very generous principle, has produced an effect directly oppoſite to that for which it was intended. The cuſtom of ſubſcribing upon any cry of diſtreſs, has given the maſter manufacturer a very extraordinary intereſt. It has given him a profit ariſing from the *diſtreſs* of the working people whom he employs: he therefore, takes every method in his power to continue and promote it. From the knowledge which the maſter manufacturers have of the readineſs in the inhabitants of Dublin to ſubſcribe, whenever the profits of a regular trade do not entirely anſwer their moſt avaricious expectations, they immediately ſtop all their looms, turn off all their workmen, and ſend them ſtarving into the ſtreets, that by their clamours they may produce a freſh ſubſcription. The misfortune of a manufacture being ſeated in a capital city, aids this iniquity exceedingly. As ſoon as the ſubſcription has become tolerably full, they ſet to work, and continue ſo until the profits of the ſubſcription have been put into their pockets. They then turn off their workmen again; that by another clamour, another ſubſcription may be raiſed. Nay, to ſuch a refinement has this baſeneſs been carried, that upon an expectation of the city becoming full towards winter, theſe maſters have turned off all their

their workmen; tho' there has not been the leaſt ſlackneſs of demand, to juſtify ſuch a proceeding.

THE aggravation of this diſtreſs being pointed out, the mitigation of it will become eaſy. If a trade cannot be ſupported without ſubſcription, the ſooner the induſtry of the people can be turned into ſome other channel the better. If it can ſupport itſelf without ſubſcription, to be clamoured into ſubſcriptions is to feed avarice and idleneſs, and to render the maſter manufacturers of Dublin the maſters of the kingdom.

MUCH of this evil has ariſen from the manufacture having been ſeated in a capital city. It contributes to whatever real evil may exiſt, by increaſing the actual dearneſs of the manufacture, from the actual dearneſs of ſubſiſtence in the capital. It contributes to whatever artificial evil may exiſt, by enabling a body of workmen almoſt to overawe the legiſlature; which becomes a perpetual inducement to the maſter manufacturers to ſtarve them.

—LET the country gentlemen, particularly thoſe who have eſtates in the weſt and in the ſouth of Ireland, recollect one effect which muſt neceſſarily follow the granting of a protecting duty: It will be a duty to enable the manufacture to continue in Dublin, and to extend itſelf in Dublin. When once ſuch a duty ſhall come into force, it prevents for ever the removal or extenſion of the manufacture from Dublin. It will operate as a monopoly in favour of Dublin—and conſequently againſt all the reſt of the kingdom. The particular internal circumſtances of the kingdom, and its external connection, point out the fertile plains of the weſt and

and ſouth of Ireland, as the proper ſtations of the manufacture. There the great cheapneſs of labour, and the vicinity to the harbours which open the communication to America, might enable the manufacturers to contend with the length of capital, and ſuperior dexterity of a neighbouring kingdom: But a protecting duty will operate as a prohibition to every ſpecies of improvement throughout the kingdom. The capital may flouriſh, but the nation will decay.

THERE is a circumſtance which ſhould be mentioned here, as it may contribute to eaſe the minds of the people. If ever there were an adminiſtration in any country, which deſerved the confidence of the people, it is the adminiſtration of this country. It deſerves the confidence of the people, becauſe it was made by the people. Upon a late change in England, a new Lord Lieutenant was ſent over here, who choſe the men to adviſe government, who had been the conductors of the people, and in their confidence: theſe men have been continued. The preſent adminiſtration therefore, is the adminiſtration of the people. This circumſtance ſeems to have changed the nature of our conſtitution, and made the people reſponſible to government, not government to the people.

I HAVE now gone through the taſk which I had impoſed upon myſelf. It was rather to point out to you where you might acquire information, than to pretend to give it to you myſelf. I know your deſire to be active and to be uſeful. I am apprehenſive however, that you look too eagerly to that popular applauſe which is ſo frequently the ſource of activity among the gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons. But be careful. To be uſeful to the people is not always the way to gain their eſteem:

and

and even if you ſhould be fortunate enough to gain it, a life of the moſt unremitting induſtry and the moſt rigid integrity may not preſerve it to you. You may remember to have ſeen a man in this country more highly graced by popular applauſe, than any of his cotemporaries. You may remember that this man deſerved it, by having found his countrymen in a ſtate of the moſt abject ſlavery, and having conducted them forward to the moſt perfect independence———that by combining the exertions of a daring genius, and a perſevering ſpirit together, he led them to the diſcovery of *unknown* land—to a land of *liberty*, unthought of, and unſought before!

You have ſeen this man, as he ought to have been, exalted by the gratitude of the people whom he had ſerved. And you have again ſeen this man, for a paltry difference of opinion with that people whom he had ſo ſerved, ſtripped of the honours which he had ſo well deſerved at their hands, and loaded with all the bitterneſs of abuſe, which a rancorous diſpoſition could ſuggeſt!

The brilliancy of his former ſervices remained unſullied; the complexion of his integrity was untainted: yet he was vilified! Tho' this ſhould teach you to ſet a true value upon popular applauſe, let it not tempt you to contemn your countrymen. It is not the vice of Iriſhmen; it is the vice of mankind. It is not Ireland; it is the habitable globe. Columbus re-traced the Atlantic, loaded with chains, by the ingratitude of companions, who owed a *new world* to his ſervices!

I have the honour to be, &c.

FINIS.